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SOME DEVELOPMENTAL ANTECEDENTS OF LEVEL OF ASPIRATION.

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THIS STUDY REPORTS CHILDREARING PRACTICES AND CHILD BEHAVIORS ASSOCIATED WITH A SUBSEQUENT LEVEL OF ASPIRATION (LOA). ANTECEDENT MEASURES WERE CHILDREARING ATTITUDES REPORTED BY 379 MOTHERS OF FIVE-YEAR OLDS IN AN EARLIER STUDY. AT THE TIME OF THIS STUDY, THE 83 SUBJECTS WERE 18 YEARS OLD. THEY WERE ADMINISTERED TWO PERSONALITY SCALES AND THE ROTTER LEVEL OF ASPIRATION BOARD. THE LOA YIELDS THREE SCORES CAPABLE OF YIELDING NINE PATTERNS WHICH DESCRIBE AN INDIVIDUAL'S OVERALL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS OF GOAL STATEMENT AND GOAL CHANGE. STATEMENTS OF HIGH GOALS INCONSISTENT WITH PAST ACHIEVEMENT SHOW CONSISTENT AND SIGNIFICANT TENDENCIES TO BE ASSOCIATED WITH EARLIER MATERNAL PUNITIVENESS TOWARD AGGRESSION AND DEPENDENCY, HIGH MATERNAL ANXIETY, AND MORE PREVALENT OBEDIENCE PROBLEMS. FAILURE AVOIDANT LEVELS OF ASPIRATION ARE ASSOCIATED WITH MATERNAL PROTECTIVENESS, WARMTH, AND GREATER PERMISSIVENESS IN SEXUAL SOCIALIZATION. SEVERAL DIFFICULTIES LIMIT THE VALIDITY OF THE STUDY. THE ORIGINAL STUDY WAS NOT DESIGNED FOR EVENTUAL RESEARCH ON LOA. MUCH OF IMPORTANCE TO GOAL STRIVING BEHAVIOR UNDOUBTEDLY OCCURRED DURING THE 13 YEAR INTERVAL. MATERNAL REPORTS OF CHILDREARING PRACTICES ARE POSSIBLY UNRELIABLE. THE FINDINGS SHOULD BE REGARDED AS SUGGESTIVE RATHER THAN DEFINITIVE. (AUTHOR/PR)

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# Some Developmental Antecedents of Level of Aspiration

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This study reports the childrearing practices and child behaviors at age 5 associated with level of aspiration (LOA) at age 18. The Rotter LOA Board, a measure of goal-setting behavior, was administered to 83 adolescents whose mothers had participated 13 years earlier in the Sears, Maccoby, and Levin interview study of childrearing. For both LOA D-scores and patterns there is a consistent and significant tendency for defensively high goal setting to be associated with earlier punitiveness toward aggression and dependency, high maternal anxiety, and more prevalent obedience problems. Failure-avoidant LOA tends to have emerged from maternal protectiveness. These findings, however, while spanning a 13 year period and showing consistency, must be regarded as suggestive rather than definitive given the large number of comparisons made.

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The concept of level of aspiration was first applied to goal-setting behavior by Dembo (1931), and in the years following Lewin and his students subjected the setting and changing of achievement goals to an exhaustive theoretical and experimental analysis (Lewin, Dembo, Festinger, & Sears, 1944). Although many of the early studies and much of the Lewinian work as a whole were concerned with the conditions affecting change in level of aspiration -- for example, success and failure (Festinger, 1942; Hoppe, 1930); the sequence of task difficulty (Frank, 1935); reference group standards (Chapman & Volkman, 1939) -- the significance of goal-striving for the study of personality was also appreciated.

There is a considerable personality-centered literature on level of aspiration, dating back to the 1930s, recognizing the close link between individual patterns or styles of goal-setting and self-evaluation. The level of aspiration paradigm -- the statement of an expectancy or bid, performance on the task, and the setting of a new level of aspiration -- presents the subject with a problem in self-evaluation, and the way he solves it provides a basis for making some important and general inferences about his self-confidence or self-esteem in a wide range of achievement and social situations. Among the major and established findings are relations between patterns of goal setting and history of achievement success or failure (Jucknat, 1937; Sears, 1940, 1941), adjustment history and physical deformity (Rotter, 1942), adjustment-maladjustment (Escalona, 1948), psychosomatic illness (Cohen, 1950; Scodel, 1953), and conformity (Crowne & Liverant, 1963; Odell, 1959). Two general conclusions clearly emerge from the work on level of aspiration as a measure of self-evaluative behavior. First, level of aspiration is curvilinearly related to measures of maladjustment; subjects independently identified as maladjusted tend to state very high or very low

goals. Second, experimental analyses of level of aspiration by Holt (1945, Rotter (1942), and Sears (1940) suggest that the level of aspiration situation arouses the kinds of defensive processes which characterize individuals' attempts to avert failure. Many of the studies cited above suggest that controlled level of aspiration situations evoke widely generalized defensive modes by which the anticipated consequences of failure are avoided. Not very much is known about the developmental antecedents of level of aspiration behavior, although it is established that consistent goal striving appears in very young children and can be observed on controlled tasks by the age of 3 1/2 to 4 (Anderson, 1940; Heckhausen, 1967). There are <sup>the</sup> nAchievement findings of Winterbottom (1958) on the relation between early independence training and nAchievement, and high nAch tends to be associated with more realistic and appropriate goal levels in risk-taking situations (Atkinson & Litwin, 1960; McClelland, 1958). The more general relation between nAchievement and patterns of level of aspiration behavior, however, has not yet been worked out. It is fair to say that the childrearing antecedents of level of aspiration and the generalized self-evaluative behaviors which are involved in goal setting have not been systematically investigated.

This study, part of a larger project investigating self-evaluative behavior and its development, inquires into the childrearing antecedents of level of aspiration. The antecedent measures, childrearing attitudes and practices reported by mothers of 5-year-old children, were collected in the Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957) study, Patterns of Childrearing. The level of aspiration measure was given to young adults whose mothers had been interviewed about their childrearing practices 13 years earlier. The design of the study precludes the collection of childrearing data theoretically linked to level of aspiration and to self-evaluative behavior since the

antecedent data were given and not originally intended to test hypotheses relating to these variables. Thus, this is an omnibus kind of attempt -- a frank fishing expedition -- to make a preliminary identification of some of the childrearing variables related to level of aspiration behavior in early adulthood. Another barrier to the testing of specific hypotheses about the association of childrearing variables and patterns of level of aspiration is that theories of aspiration behavior are process theories concerned with change and maintenance of expectancies of goals in self-evaluative situations (Lewin et al, 1944; Rotter, 1954), and they do not specify the content variables accounting for the initial acquisition of individual consistencies in goal-setting behavior. There does, however, seem to be one general proposition to examine: since level of aspiration goal discrepancy scores are curvilinearly related to maladjustment, we might expect that those childrearing practices leading to maladjustment would be associated with the setting of extreme (very high or very low) goals. A low level hypothesis is that critical childrearing practices in this case ought to cluster around severity of socialization -- unpermissiveness and high punitiveness in the socialization of the major behavior systems and perhaps maternal coldness.

### Method

#### Subjects

The subjects were 83 young adults, 46 males and 37 females, whose mothers had reported their childrearing practices in the Sears et al study in 1951-1952. They were, at the time of our follow-up in the winter and early spring of 1964-1965, 18 years of age. From partial records dating from the 1958 follow-up (Maccoby, 1961; Sears, 1961) and some subsequent contacts with these subjects, a list was compiled of the addresses of the

original participants. The attrition by 1958 was already considerable -- from 379 to 160 -- and by 1965 approximately 100 subjects could be located. Of these, a number were away at college; those who came home for Christmas vacation were contacted, and several were run over the holiday. By and large, the subjects we were able to contact were those who lived in the same residences they had in 1952.

All the listed families were contacted by telephone, the nature of the follow-up was described, and the subject child of the original interview was invited to come to the Department of Social Relations, Harvard University to complete several measures. A small honorarium and travel expenses were offered. Appointments were scheduled for subjects in small groups of 3 or 4, and they were administered the various measures by the three of us.

#### Procedure

When subjects appeared for appointments, they were given two personality scales, following which half of them performed on the level of aspiration task. For the remaining subjects, a measure of sensitivity to emotional communications preceded level of aspiration performance. This order of administration was routinely maintained, and there appears to have been no effect of task order on level of aspiration behavior.

The level of aspiration measure was the Rotter (1942) Level of Aspiration Board, a goal-setting technique which involves the statement of expectancies on a motor skills task. With a cue, the subject hits a small steel ball down a grooved board numbered at the far end from 1 to 10 and back down to 1. His aim is to get the highest score possible. Before each trial he states a bid or expected score. Success is defined as reaching or exceeding the bid, failure as falling short of it. A goal discrepancy (D) score is calculated

from the cumulated discrepancy between previous success or failure and subsequent estimate. The number of times shifts in estimates occur is also recorded, and the number of unusual shifts (down after success, up after failure) is a second shift score. These three scores may be combined to yield a series of nine patterns which describe an individual's overall approach to the problem of goal statement and goal change. Rotter (1954) has described criteria for the assignment of these patterns and reported satisfactory inter-judge reliability. The reliability of pattern assignment in this study was assessed on individual patterns and on the pattern groups described below. The percent agreement between two judges\* was 79 on individual patterns and 38 when the patterns were grouped.

These four measures profile the consequent variables of this study. The patterns were classified in three groups established in previous research (Crowne, 1966; Crowne & Liverant, 1963): Patterns 1 and 3, the achievement-oriented, realistic goal-setting styles (stability is present, there is an absence of unusual shifts, and goals are appropriately higher than past achievement); Patterns 2, 4, and 7, which involve the avoidance of failure by overcautiousness (negative D scores, shifts down after success, and a lack of stability); and Patterns 5, 6, 8, and 9, the more frankly maladjusted group in which leaving the reality of the situation is seen in avoidance of self-evaluation and the stating of wishful estimates (unrealistically high D scores, a refusal to shift or marked lack of stability in shifting, and the presence of many unusual shifts).

\* Crowne and Julian B. Rotter

## Results

### Characteristics of the Follow-up Sample

With the high level of attrition from the original study, it is important to examine the comparability of our subject sample to the demographic characteristics of the 1952 families. We might anticipate some differences since the follow-up subjects came from stable families maintaining the same residences for nearly 15 years; lower social class families and the upwardly mobile would be lost. That is not the case, however: on the revised Warner index (Warner, Meeker, & Eels, 1949) used to scale socioeconomic status in the original study, our follow-up group does not differ significantly from the total 1952 sample. Neither is there a difference between our follow-up cases and the 1952 sample in mean number of children per family. These data are presented in Table 1.

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Insert Table 1. about here

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While there may well be differences between the follow-up and original groups on other variables, the characteristics of the original group have been well maintained on these major demographic variables.

### Analysis of Childrearing-Level of Aspiration Relationships

The three level of aspiration scores -- D, number of shifts, and number of unusual shifts -- were correlated with each of the 188 scales on which the maternal interviews were rated in the Sears et al study. Several additional summary scales, which in effect represent factor scores based on Milton's (1957) factor analysis of 44 of the original scales, were included. These correlations were computed separately for males and females as well as

for the total group. As a way of testing for curvilinearity, the distribution of level of aspiration D scores was divided into quintiles, separately for each sex, and analyses of variance for each childrearing variable were computed with the quintile groups as the classification variable. The relation of the level of aspiration patterns to each of the childrearing variables was assessed by analysis of variance, using the pattern groups described above.

Tables 2, 3, and 4 present for each sex and for the sexes combined the correlations significant at .10 or beyond between the childrearing variables and the three level of aspiration scores.

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The first thing to notice is that these correlations are preponderantly in the .20s and .30s; a very small proportion reach .40. Clearly, the covariation of reported childrearing practices and maternal characteristics when the children were five years of age and their level of aspiration performance in young adulthood accounts for a fraction of the variance. The patterns of correlations for the three level of aspiration measures show some differences, a result to be expected since the meaning of the three scores is not identical. The D score is the primary and clearest measure of goal-oriented behavior; very low D scores indicate overcautiousness and a tendency for direct failure avoidance, and D scores in the very high range suggest the avoidance of self-evaluation by the fantasy-like substitution of goal statement for the realistic appraisal of one's attainment. The number of shifts is primarily a stability measure, ranging from extreme rigidity to lack of stability. The unusual shifts measure is indicative of high expectancies of failure and the defenses used in its anticipation -- avoidance

or wishful overestimation. This index is complicated by the lumping together of two kinds of shifts with different meanings -- up after failure and down after success -- which are not ordinarily seen together except in the infrequently occurring Pattern 9. They cannot be segregated, unfortunately, because there are not enough of each type to give a reasonable distribution.

The pattern of relationships for males and females is somewhat different. For males, high D scores are associated with earlier maternal childrearing anxiety, limited affectional interaction in infancy, maternal severity in handling feeding problems and a more severe reaction to weaning, high demands for table manners, high pressure against sex play, greater warmth toward the child beyond infancy, high demands for the child to be aggressive (i.e., to fight his own battles), high use of physical punishment, and high punitiveness in the socialization of aggression and dependency (Summary punitiveness scale). The mothers of the high D score adolescents had less responsibility for financial policy and became warmer to their children after infancy. On the shifts measure, warmth in infancy, higher permissiveness for masturbation, high importance attached to school achievement, high use of reasoning and more inconsistent discipline, low rejection of the child and high permissiveness in the early socialization of sexual behavior appear to be the important correlates of a high number of shifts. The mothers of adolescents with a high number of unusual shifts tended to be more severe in the socialization of sexual behavior (although they exerted less pressure for modesty), had more time to play with the child, attached high importance to school, spanked more often, were more inconsistent in discipline, and had children who gave early evidence of conscience development.

The high D score females tended to come from larger families, were more

likely to have had frequent early separations from their mothers, were subjected to somewhat greater restrictions at meals and with radio and TV, had longer bowel training to which they reacted less, were more disobedient, were taught by their parents before starting school, and were more often rewarded with tangible rewards and punished by physical means. A high number of shifts in girls is associated with early maternal coldness, low pressure against childhood sex play, less time for the mother to play with the child, preschool teaching, low permissiveness for aggression toward other children, high conscience development, use of tangible rewards, parental agreement on child-rearing, and greater paternal strictness. A high number of unusual shifts in females goes along with less warm mother-infant interactions, scheduled feeding, high neatness demands, greater physical restrictiveness, preschool teaching, high aggression demands, punishment for dependency, and high punitiveness for intrafamily aggression and dependency. Girls with many unusual shifts tended to come from higher SES families, their mothers were employed during the child's first two years, and their mothers were more delighted when the child started school.

These findings are generally repeated in the correlations for both sexes combined: higher punitiveness for intrafamily aggression and for dependent behavior, high use of physical punishment, high maternal anxiety about the rearing of children, more frequent obedience problems, somewhat greater restrictiveness during meals, and early emphasis on school achievement are the major correlates of later high goal discrepancy scores. The patterns of correlations for the two shifts measures are similar to those described for each sex alone.

The curvilinearity analysis, involving the quintile D score groups and separate ANOVs with each of the childrearing variables, failed to yield any evidence of nonlinear relationships. The pattern of findings is essentially similar to the results of the correlational analyses just described; the high and low D score groups did not cluster together.

The pattern group findings are reported in Tables 5 and 6 for males and females separately. For males, there is a consistent trend for the pattern groups associated with higher D scores (Patterns 5, 6, 8, and 9 and Patterns 1 and 3) to be differentiated from the failure-avoidant pattern group

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Insert Tables 5 and 6 about here

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(Patterns 2, 4, and 7) on several variables: demands for table manners, pressure against sex play, aggression demands, maternal dissatisfaction with her situation, and maternal anxiety about childrearing. On the summary punitiveness scale, which clearly and consistently relates to D scores, however, the most disturbed pattern group did not differ from the other two; the only difference to appear was between the achievement-oriented group (1 and 3) and the failure-avoidant pattern group. Subjects with the failure-avoidant patterns were more likely to have had mothers who used withdrawal of love as a socialization and control technique, and made greater use of reasoning; their fathers were more likely to have been involved in childcare. The 5, 6, 8, 9 group males were more dependent as small children than the failure-avoidant group and less resembled (were less identified with?) their fathers.

Two other scales appear here for the first time: the Gough Femininity

scale and the Prosocial aggression scale. A number of the children in our follow-up sample were in the 1958 follow-up group. A number of measures principally dealing with aggression were administered at that time, when the children were 12 years old. A revised version of Gough's (1957) Femininity (Fe) scale was also given. Pattern 5, 6, 8, and 9 males were more feminine than the other two groups at age 12. Concerning prosocial or socially appropriate aggression, the failure-avoidant and more disturbed pattern groups both tended to have higher (more aggressive) scores at age 12 than the more realistic pattern group.

The analysis of pattern relationships to the antecedent variables for females reveals trends similar to those for males: in general, the high D score pattern groups were subjected to greater punitiveness in early childhood, greater punishment for dependency, greater severity in the socialization of aggressive behavior. The mothers of the subjects with more disturbed level of aspiration patterns restricted the mobility of their children more, took longer in bowel training their children, had more severe feeding problems, taught their children before school, made high extrafamily aggression demands on their children, and tended to use positive models for the child's behavior ("You don't see Mummy and Daddy using their hands to eat their food"). The mothers of the achievement-oriented pattern group of girls had greater obedience problems with their daughters, exerted greater modesty pressure, spanked more often, were more dominated by their children, were more likely to give their children regular jobs and chores, and felt their parents were less strict. For females particularly, there appears to be some differentiation between the 1 and 3 and 5, 6, 8, and 9 pattern groups. The 2, 4, and 7 group, in

addition to being low on most of the foregoing variables (i.e., generally less punitive and severe early childhood experiences), were more often praised for good table behavior and for playing nicely with other children. On the 1958 follow-up measures, the Pattern 1 and 3 group girls displayed greater aggression anxiety as well as greater prosocial aggression.

#### Discussion

The results with the various level of aspiration measures appear to form a pattern with some consistency, and this is most clear for the goal discrepancy score. The statement of high goals relative to past achievement in young adults tends to be associated with earlier maternal punitiveness in the socialization of aggression and dependency, physical punishment, somewhat greater restrictiveness, and less maternal warmth in infancy by mothers who were more anxious about the rearing of their then five-year-old children. Although the pattern of results is more complex and involves many more variables than this, the most consistent core seems to lie here. Combining the three basic level of aspiration measures to yield the patterns and pattern groups did not produce any increment in or more meaningful clustering of the childrearing antecedents of level of aspiration behavior. Perhaps the pattern groups were too crude and general and what failed to emerge with our three groups might have shown up had we used the nine individual patterns. That was not possible with the size of the follow-up sample, however; the frequencies of the separate patterns were too small.

The meaning of low D scores is less clear and comes mainly by contrast with the opposite end of the dimension. Our findings suggest that failure-avoidant level of aspiration is associated with an early history of maternal

protectiveness, warmth, relative nonpunitiveness concerning aggression and dependency, and greater permissiveness in sexual socialization. It seems quite clear that while the extremes of the D score distribution may be more maladjusted, they do not have the same childrearing histories. The concept of maladjustment and its measurement typically include a variety of behavioral indications of disturbance, and the childrearing differences between high and low D score subjects in this study strongly suggest the futility of seeking a unimodal pattern of childrearing antecedents of maladjustment.

Even when due recognition is given to the very large number of correlations computed, of which our significant relationships are only a small fraction, it is something of a surprise that any kind of sensible cluster of maternal antecedents would emerge. The Sears et al study was designed as a broad-gauge investigation of the childrearing and child behavioral variables involved in identification, not as a study of goal-related self-evaluative behavior. One can point to the 13 year interval between the collection of the childrearing data and the measurement of level of aspiration and the fact that our subjects were but 5 years of age when their mothers reported on the rearing of their children. Certainly much of importance to later goal-striving behavior must have occurred during this long period, including increasing stress on achievement by parents and other social agents. Perhaps what the mothers reported of their childrearing attitudes and practices at age 5 represented some widely generalized attitudes and specific practices to appear at later points in the process of socialization. But that, of course, is sheer speculation. One would greet the present findings with surprise given the vagaries of maternal report of childrearing, too well known and too often encountered to require detailing here. Finally, the

intercorrelations of childrearing practices in the original data, even within the same behavior system (e.g., aggression), were notably low, and it should not have come as a shock had we failed to find a meaningful cluster of childrearing correlates.

What kind of confidence can be placed in the early childrearing--young adult level of aspiration relationships? Can the significantly associated childrearing variables be regarded as causal antecedents? The pattern of the findings makes their acceptance more palatable than would be the case if no system or order could be found, and the relationships with the factor scales lend plausibility since they cut across specific practices and represent dimensions of childrearing. But plausibility in a tentative sense is all we can now argue for. There is no way of determining which of the childrearing variables are critical for later level of aspiration -- without which, say, high discrepancies between goals and past achievement would simply not appear. There is no ready way of determining which are the critical variables and which simply covary with the antecedents or are, indeed, spurious.

There is probably a temptation to reduce the import of these findings to the simple statement that the mothers of subjects with high goal discrepancy scores were more severe across the board--that general severity of socialization accounts for the results. That was not true, of course: the mothers of high D score subjects were punitive socializing agents only in certain areas. In fact, the level of aspiration measures did not correlate significantly with the severity of socialization scale which summed over the major behavior systems.

Our findings suggest that the early childrearing correlates of level of aspiration differ from those of nAchievement. Winterbottom (1958) found

early independence training and reward of the child's attempts at self-reliance and mastery to be associated with high nAchievement. Our high D score subjects, to the contrary, tended to be somewhat more restricted in physical mobility and at home, which does not seem much like independence training. Such a distinction between nAchievement and level of aspiration is complicated, however, by the fact that Feld's (1960) follow-up of Winterbottom's subjects revealed a striking reversal: at age 14-16, nAchievement was negatively correlated with contemporary maternal stress on independence. To be noted, too, is the age difference between the Sears et al children when the interviews were conducted and Winterbottom's 8-10 year olds; independence training of the Sears et al children would necessarily have been curtailed by their age. The early emphasis on school achievement by the mothers of high D score children, on the other hand, would be consistent with the development of high nAchievement (cf. Moss & Kagan, 1961). It seems clear that the issue cannot be arbitrated by the present data.

The findings of this study argue for recognizing clearly the important partition between initial exploration of antecedent variables and the establishment of relationships firmly anchored in both quasi-naturalistic observations and the experimental manipulation of stimulus events. The present findings must be regarded with an eye jaundiced by tentativeness if not scepticism. They are heuristic for future research, but there comes a time with any personality variable when it is time to stop doing studies like this one.

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Table 1  
Demographic Comparison of the Follow-up  
and 1952 Samples

<u>Variable</u>		<u>Follow-up Sample</u>		<u>1952 Sample</u>	
		<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Socioeconomic Status	<u>N</u>	46	37	193	170
	<u>M</u>	3.540	4.114	3.933	4.288
	<u>SD</u>	2.168	2.350	2.131	2.227
Number of Children in Family	<u>N</u>	46	37	202	177
	<u>M</u>	2.520	2.676	2.520	2.737
	<u>SD</u>	1.150	0.852	1.162	1.180

Table 2

**Significant Correlations Between Childrearing Variables and  
Three Level of Aspiration Scores for Males**

<u>Code</u>	<u>Scale</u>	LOA					
		<u>D Score</u>		<u># Shifts</u>		<u># Unusual Shifts</u>	
		<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>
II 23	Amount of mother's affectionate interaction with baby	44	-.37				
II 25	Warmth, affectional bond, mother to infant			45	.28*		
II 34	Severity of reaction to weaning	42	.35				
II 38	Severity in handling feeding problems	34	.34				
II 40	Restriction of physical mobility during meals					43	.35
II 43	Level of demand for table manners	46	.33				
II 54	Amount of pressure for modesty					36	-.32
II 56	Masturbation permissiveness			43	.31		
II 57	Severity of pressure against masturbation					34	.44
II 59	Severity of pressure against sex play	29	.33*			29	.56
II 64	Hour of child's bedtime					32	-.30*
III 14	Does mother find time to play with child					46	.38
III 15	Affectionate relationship, mother to child	46	.28*				
III 18	How important that child do well in school			44	.30	44	.34
III 25	Pressure for child to be sociable					34	-.39
III 26	Demand for child to be aggressive	45	.41				

Table 2, Cont.

Scale	D Score		LOA		# Unusual Shifts	
	# Shifts		# Shifts		# Shifts	
	N	r	N	r	N	r
Does child tell about deviation					45	.41
Setting up negative models			44	.44		
Frequency with which mother spansks					41	.27*
Warnings of danger from environment					41	.28*
Extent of use of reasoning			37	.31*		
How often threaten and not follow through			45	.31	45	.43
Does father stay with child when mother out			27	.37*	27	.49
Responsibility for financial policy	46	.36				
Division of labor, husband & wife			44	-.28*		
Mother's rejection of child			41	-.29*		
Mother's childrearing anxiety	46	.31				
Summary punitiveness scale	45	.30				
Summary permissiveness scale			46	.30		
Summary infant nurturance scale			46	.29		
Change in warmth, infancy to childhood	46	-.28*				
Physicality of punishment	45	.30				

Table 3

Significant Correlations Between Childrearing Variables and  
Three Level of Aspiration Scores for Females

<u>Code</u>	<u>Scale</u>	<u>D Score</u>		<u># Shifts</u>		<u># Unusual Shifts</u>	
		<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>
II 6	Number of children in family	37	.29*				
II 13	Separations from mother, after 24 months	37	.32				
II 23	Amount of mother's affectionate interaction with baby			37	-.41	37	-.31*
II 36	Scheduling of feeding					37	.43
II 40	Restriction of physical mobility during meals	31	.45				
II 49	Duration of bowel training	34	.35				
II 52	Child's reaction to toilet training	17	-.51				
II 59	Severity of pressure against sex play			17	-.40		
II 61	Standards for neatness and orderliness					37	.37
II 66	Strictness about noise			35	.40		
II 67	Restrictions on radio & TV	34	.32				
II 69	Restrictions on physical mobility					36	.32
II 77	How much problem with obedience	37	.30*				
III 9	Amount child objects to separation from mother			36	.32		
III 14	Does mother find time to play with child			37	-.32		
III 16	Amount of teaching before child starts school	37	.44	37	.37	37	.34
III 17	Child's demands for teaching			21	-.40		

Table 3, Cont.

<u>Code</u>	<u>Scale</u>	<u>D Score</u>		<u># Shifts</u>		<u># Unusual Shifts</u>	
		<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>
III 26	Demands for child to be aggressive					36	.43
III 27	Extent child encouraged to fight back					27	.39
III 28	Permissiveness for inappropriate aggression towards children			35	-.34		
III 32	Does child tell about deviation			30	.50		
III 36	Extent of use of tangible rewards	36	.33	36	.41		
III 38	Setting up positive models					35	.47
III 71	Does mother think father too strict			33	-.31		
III 73	Parents' agreement of childrearing policies			37	.46		
III 78	Responsibility for decision to move	34	-.32				
IV 20	Mother working during child's first 2 years					35	.34
IV 23	Which parent stricter			36	.36		
XV 7	Amount of punishment for child's dependent responses & amount of irritation mother feels					32	.36
	Summary punitiveness score					36	.43
	Change in warmth from infancy to childhood; score on infant nurturance; score on current mother warmth					37	.33
	Revised index SES					35	.31*
	Reaction to child starting school					36	.36
	Physicality of punishment	37	.39				

\* = p &lt; .10

Table 4

Significant Correlations Between Childrearing Variables and  
Three Level of Aspiration Scores for Both Sexes

Code	Scale	LOA					
		D Score		# Shifts		# Unusual Shifts	
		N	r	N	r	N	r
II 6	Number children in family	83	.27				
II 19	Amount of caretaking in infancy by other agent			73	-.28		
II 26	Duration of breast feeding			82	-.20*		
II 38	Severity of handling feeding problems	63	.26				
II 40	Restrictions on physical mobility during meals	74	.25			74	.26
II 43	Level of demand for table manners	83	.23				
II 58	Permissiveness concerning sex play among children					30	-.25
II 77	How much problem with obedience	83	.27				
III 6	Amount of attention child wants			81	.22*		
III 11	Mother's response to dependency					33	.22
III 15	Affectionate relationship, warmth, mother to child			82	-.25		
III 16	Amount of teaching before child starts school	83	.26			33	.20*
III 18	How important that child does well in school					30	.20
III 23	Praise for playing nicely with children					64	-.25
III 26	Demands for child to be aggressive	81	.31			31	.24
III 28	Permissiveness for inappropriate aggression towards children			31	-.21*		
III 32	Does child tell about deviation			75	.21*		

Table 4, Cont.

<u>Code</u>	<u>Scale</u>	<u>D Score</u>		<u># Shifts</u>		<u># Unusual Shifts</u>	
		<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>
III 36	Extent of use of tangible rewards	82	.25	82	.31		
III 38	Setting up positive models					79	.32
III 39	Setting up negative models			80	.27		
III 40	Frequency with which mother spansks	75	.24			75	.24
III 46	Extent of use of physical punishment	82	.26				
III 60	How often threaten to punish, then not follow through					80	.27
III 66	Which parent disciplines			81	-.20*		
III 67	How strict is father					32	-.24
III 72	Does father think mother too strict			81	.26		
IV 5	Division of labor between husband and wife			79	-.22*		
IV 15	Husband's reaction to wife's pregnancy	79	-.23				
IV 18	Mother's attitude toward mother role	83	.23				
IV 23	Which parent stricter	82	-.26				
IV 29	Mother's rejection of child			79	-.24		
IV 31	Mother's childrearing anxiety	83	.26				
XV 7	Punishment for dependency, and amount of irritation mother feels	71	.24			71	.27
	Physicality of punishment	82	.34				
	Summary punitiveness scale	81	.35			81	.30
	Revised index, SES					81	.26
	Checklist: Proportion of total responses representing withdrawal of love items					80	.23

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Table 4, Cont.

<u>Code</u>	<u>Scale</u>	LOA					
		<u>D Score</u>		<u># Shifts</u>		<u># Unusual Shifts</u>	
		<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>	<u>N</u>	<u>r</u>
	Reaction to child starting school					82	.26
	Summary: household restrictiveness					83	.21

\* = p < .10

Table 5

## Summary of Differences Between LOA Pattern Groups\*

## on Childrearing Variables for Males

<u>Code</u>	<u>Scale</u>	<u>p</u> from ANOV	<u>Significant Between-Group Differences</u>
II 41	Restrictions on use of fingers for eating	.02	3 2
II 43	Level of demand for table manners	.005	3>1 (.10); 3>2
II 58	Permissiveness concerning sex play	.08	1>3 (.10); 2>3
II 59	Severity of pressures against sex play	.01	3>1; 3>2
III 10	Amount of dependency child shows	.08	3>2
III 26	Demands for child to be aggressive	.05	1>2; 3>2
III 53	Extent of use of withdrawal of love	.04	2>3
III 57	Extent of use of reasoning	.02	2>1
III 64	Amount of caretaking father does now	.06	2>1
IV 9	How much child takes after father	.03	1>3; 2>3 (.10)
IV 19	Mother's dissatisfaction with current situation	.03	3>2; 3>1
IV 31	Mother's childrearing anxiety	.03	3>1 (.10); 3>2
	Summary punitiveness scale	.01	1>2
	Gough Femininity Scale (1958 follow-up)	.03	3>1; 3>2 (.10)
	Prosocial aggression scale (1958 follow-up)	.02	2>1; 3>1 (.10)

\* Group 1 is the pattern 1 and 3 group; 2 is patterns 2, 4, and 7;

3 is patterns 5, 6, 8, and 9

Table 6

Summary of Differences Between LOA Pattern Groups\*  
on Childrearing Variables for Females

<u>Code</u>	<u>Scale</u>	<u>p from ANOV</u>	<u>Significant Between-Group Differences</u>
II 10	Age difference between child and next-younger sibling	.02	3>1; 3>2
II 36	Scheduling of feeding	.05	3>1 (.10); 3>2
II 37	Severity of feeding problems	.07	3>2
II 45	Amount of praise for good behavior at table	.03	2>1
II 49	Duration of bowel training	.05	3>1; 3>2
II 54	Amount of pressure for modesty	.05	1>2; 1>3
II 69	Restrictions on physical mobility	.003	3>1; 3>2
II 70	Giving child regular jobs and chores	.08	1>2
II 77	How much problem with obedience	.06	1>2
III 16	Amount of teaching before child starts school	.07	3>2
III 17	Child's demands for teaching	.01	1>2
III 23	Praise for playing nicely with children	.005	2>1; 2>3 (.10)
III 26	Demands for child to be aggressive	.02	3>2
III 27	Extent child encouraged to fight back	.04	3>2
III 31	Punishment for aggression toward parents	.04	1>2
III 38	Setting up positive models	.009	3>1; 3>2
III 40	Frequency with which mother spans	.02	1>3
III 64	Amount of caretaking father does now	.07	3>2
IV 32	Extent of child dominance	.008	1>2; 1>3
IV 36	Were mother's parents more strict	.03	1>2

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Table 6, Cont.

<u>Code</u>	<u>Scale</u>	<u>p from ANOV</u>	<u>Significant Between- Group Differences</u>
XV 7	Punishment for dependency, and amount of irritation mother feels	.005	1>2; 3>2
	Summary: severity of aggression training	.02	1>2; 3>2 (.10)
	Summary punitiveness scale	.002	1>2; 3>2
	Aggression Anxiety Scale (1958 follow-up)	.03	1>2; 1>3
	Prosocial Aggression Scale (1953 follow-up)	.008	1>2; 1>3

\* Group 1 is the pattern 1 and 3 groups; 2 is patterns 2, 4, and 7;  
3 is patterns 5, 6, 8, and 9